3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

586 may also do without the least reproach or the
587 least secrecy. From this circumstance we may
836 draw an argument in favour of the chastity of
837 the women generally, for if they were of a dif-
581 ferent character it is natural to suppose that
[831] very few would marry, except those who, when very young, were betrothed to chiefs, and consequently married independently of their consent: but we find that three times that number are actually married: and as many are married three, four, or five times, it cannot be from an unchaste, libertine, or wandering disposition on the part of the women, seeing that when once divorced they may remain single if they please, and enjoy all the liberty that the most libertine heart can desire. If now it be asked, "Why then do they marry?" The answer is, for love of one object, with the idea that the object of their affections will *always* make them happy; and if they are disappointed in one instance they are willing to try it in a second, a third, &c.: in short, it would appear that the force of sentimental affection blinds them to the probability of a disappointment, and they willingly make a generous sacrifice of their liberty to prove the strength of their attachment*.

836 As to those women who are not actually mar-

832 * The position, that every woman is at heart a rake, does not appear to hold true in the Tonga islands.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

ried, they may bestow their favours upon whomsoever they please, without any opprobrium: it must not, however, be supposed, that these women are always easily won; the greatest attentions and most fervent solicitations are sometimes requisite, even though there be no other lover in the way. This happens sometimes from a spirit of coquetry, at other times from a dislike to the party, &c. It is thought shameful for a woman *frequently* to change her lover. Great presents are by no means certain methods of gaining her favours, and consequently they are more frequently made afterwards than before. Gross prostitution is not known among them.

With regard to the habits of the men in this respect, it must in the first place be observed, that no man is understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity: it is no reproach to him to intermix his amours, though if a married man does this to excess it is thought inconsistent: notwithstanding this liberty of conduct, however, most of the married men are tolerably true to their wives; and where they have any other amour it is kept a secret from the wife, not out of any fear or apprehension, but because it is unnecessary to excite her jealousy, and make her perhaps unhappy: for it must be said, to the honour of the men, that they consult in no

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

399. Malimali loto: Smiling (in the) heart. 539

Satisfaction with what is one's own; self-satisfaction. The expression 152
is said to have originated with the handsome man *(manaia)* Vainuku who 828
lived in Eua where he had a little pool of water which he used as a mirror. When he saw the reflection of his handsome face the sight filled him with pleasure, made his heart smile. The pool itself was named *Malimali loto.*

400. Mata mea fooua: Seeing a new thing.

Indicative of the surprise and gratification experienced at beholding an unaccustomed sight. (See No. 267.)

401. Pauu afi mata: Mischievousness pulling down lower lid of the eye. 539 201 578 522

To pull down the lower lid of one's eye at a person is an insulting gesture; but this phrase refers apparently to one who should be so impudent as to do it to the eye of another, as for example a pert child treating thus his mother's eye. The expression means excessively impudent or mischievous.

402. Tuai e kemo: The wink (is) slow. 539

Instantaneous, very quick, literally much quicker than a wink of 805
the eyes.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

403. Finemotua fie finemui: Old woman wanting to be young woman. 539 561 888

A rebuke to the lady who refuses to grow old gracefully; but strives to cheat the advancing years with the adornments and manners that befit the young and fair.

404. Mata kovi ka nae fili ekita: Ugly but I chose myself. 539

The most direct application of this is to a man who has taken 832
to wife a lady not specially dowered with beauty. She is not handsome 581
but she is the choice of her husband.

405. Uliuli a fine Eua: The dark complexion of a Eua woman. 539

The women of Eua were not reckoned beauties, but were well 832
looked after and hard to come at. If a boat called at Eua the women 562
would freely move about and perform the tasks incidental to the entertainment of the visitors, but at night were shut up and carefully guarded. 184
The expression refers slightingly to these ladies, who, in spite of their lack of charm, were jealously watched.

406. Jijii a pakiji: The wiry man is lean. 539

The word *pakiji* means lean but strong. There is a certain re- 826
dundancy in saying that such a strong wiry man is thin.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

480. Tala tae fai tuunga: Talk without making standing place, that is, to report something without adducing grounds of belief. 539 829 521

481. Tala tae fakaeja: Talk without putting a handle to it, that is, to tell something without adducing any proof or grounds of belief.

Baker understands the "handle" to one's talk to refer to appropriate action following on words, and translates the phrase, "To say and do not; to say one thing but do the contrary." The expression probably lent itself to both uses.

482. Tauange mo koe: I sincerely desire of you. 539

This is hardly a proverbial expression but is freely used in earnest entreaty. 521

483. Vale tala vale: Fool telling fool; one fool upbraiding another for his folly.

Used like similar expressions in English. (See No. 427.)

483a. Oku longo a Tonga: Tonga is silent.

Tongans are not in the habit of talking while eating and so this phrase is applied jocularly to a party of Tongans sitting silent at a meal. It is said to have been first applied by Fijians. [264]

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

484. Avanga kai ate: Possession (by a spirit) consuming liver. 539

The liver is reckoned the seat of life and of at least some of the passions. The term *avanga* is applied to those illnesses which are caused by demonic possessions. Proverbially this phrase is applied to the yearning and distress of intense love. 826 753 787 [832]

It is worthy of note that in ceremonies the liver of a slaughtered pig is taken and presented to the chief. This is stated to be a presentation to the chief of the whole of the pig's life. (See also No. 485.) [622] [825]

485. Kuo toona hoku ate: My liver is baked. 539

This indicates distress. My life is consumed, wasted away. 826

486. Foki mei he uhi: Returning from the *uhi*. 539

Restoration to health from an apparently hopeless sickness. The *uhi* *(Evodia hortensis)* is largely used in native medicine, so largely that it perhaps stands here as the type of a drug which will be tried without much expectation of its proving efficacious when the practitioners are at their wits' end. 757 [137]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from the time when surgery was carried out in the village without the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific operator's skill.

COURTSHIP

The average village man's idea of a woman who is beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart. There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark. The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or feet.

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relationship with many men, or who visits much about the village instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's mother would always send a younger sister or brother to escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other.

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations are common among the young people of the village. All informants were positive that with the exception of two doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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days, then went back to Ha'akio again. He conjured up some excuse to talk to the girl's mother and to Sepi herself. 584

For the following three months he visited Ha'akio, usually once each week. He discussed marriage with Sepi and when she seemed agreeable, he proceeded to discuss the matter further with her father and relatives. They looked with disfavour on his suit, alleging that he was too young. Probably they were unsure as yet whether this was the best marriage that Sepi could make. After this rebuff, Biukala tried to persuade Sepi to agree to a runaway marriage. She would not, insisting that Biukala must try again to obtain her relatives' assent, as was the proper Tongan custom. [583]

By this time Biukala decided that strong measures were necessary if anything was to come of his courtship. He persuaded his father and four of the older men of his family to go to Ha'akio and consult with the menfolk of Sepi's family. Biukala stayed in Pangai. The men took with them the largest sized root of *kava*, a forty-pound tin of biscuits, and some mats, as a present to Sepi's household. After an all-day *kava*-session together with much discussion, Sepi's family was persuaded to agree to the marriage. This took place the following week. It was the biggest marriage-feast ever held in Pangai. Sepi's father provided about fifty pigs. Biukala's father, feeling that the honour of his household was at stake, added a further seventy pigs to the celebration. 585 574

In elaborating on the virtues of Sepi, Biukala noted that her household was fairly wealthy in pigs and food, that Sepi had spent ten years in a mission-school in Neiafu. She had been well trained in both the arts of Tonga and of the white woman. She was skilful at making *kava*, mats, and bark cloth. She could also cook white man's food, could knit and wash clothes. She was industrious, clean, and had had plenty of experience in bringing up the numerous younger children in her household. Biukala never remarked about his wife's beauty. According to village ideals, indeed, she had little. 584 581 (832)

This account of Biukala emphasizes many facets of village-culture today. There is no suggestion of romantic love. There is a cool weighing of advantages before courtship begins. There is interest in securing a mate who has had opportunity to learn some of the white woman's skills. Knowing her worth in this connection, the girl's family is 584 178

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

595 622 The rank of the children of the various wives of a chief depended on that of their mothers. In the case of two wives of equal rank the elder normally took precedence of the younger, and her children over those of the younger woman. A wife might so win her husband's affections as to cause him to grant precedence to her children over those of an elder woman of equal rank, but favouritism could scarcely avail to elevate the children of a specially beloved wife above those of a higher chieftainess. A special term was used for the principal wife.

831 832 [778] [776] [585] [554] Many stories are told of handsome men, called *mana'ia*, possessed of *mana*, supernatural power, whose charms were irresistible to the ladies. The patron of these boudoir knights was Jimilau, the god of beauty, whose gift their handsome persons were, and who were themselves sometimes even called Jimilau. The custom obtained, and is more or less perpetuated in modern marriages, for a maiden to present a particular mat to the man to whom she gave her virgin love, and the prestige of the *mana'ia* was in proportion to the number of these trophies he had won.

The *mana'ia* was prepared for his amorous calling with the carefulness of an aspirant to a learned profession or an athletic championship. His friends and relatives, male and female, omitted no attention that should increase his attractiveness. All that was demanded of him was that he should look well, and fascinate the [554] ladies. High rank, though valued, was not indispensable; but it is [565] obviously improbable that the profession of lover could have been open to men of very humble birth. Even personal courage and 831 prowess were not essential—merely good looks. The name and fame 832 of notable male beauties are perpetuated in tale and proverb, and 538 extraordinary sway over ladies' hearts is ascribed to them. It is related that a chieftainess was about to be married to a great lord; the nuptials indeed had commenced, and the guests were seated on [304] the first evening of the ceremonies in a house with the bride. A specially favoured *mana'ia*, who desired the girl for himself, thrust his hand, on which was tattooed a distinctive mark, through a hole [584] in the thatch roof. The bride-elect, thus apprised of who awaited her without, slipped from the house, and eloped with the *mana'ia*. [554] I am told that the *mana'ia* had no real status in Tongan social organisation; but that families forwarded the interests of their handsome men merely to assist them to form advantageous connections, and collect large quantities of mats and cloth, in which they all might share. The first holder of the great Tungi title was [555] called Tungi Mana'ia, and tradition ascribes his elevation to exalted [644] rank to his personal attractiveness, but the genealogies show that this is a mistaken notion, as in his veins flowed the highest chiefly blood of Tonga. The present Tungi is the consort of the reigning Queen.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

of true love, errant fancy may have been attracted by some other charmer. In all cases the procedure is the same. Recourse is had to a white missionary or native pastor to dissolve the oath. In the cases that have come to my own notice the clergy, European and Tongan, have refused to be parties to this superstitious use of the Bible, and have sent the suitors away with a little healthy advice.

In reference to murder Mariner remarks, "An old mataboole used to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to the gods, and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end." The gods sometimes turned peevish for less weighty reasons than wanton homicide. Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Tongatabu, and before it had spread throughout the whole island, Boiboi, the chief of a still heathen district, became very ill, and was carried on a stretcher to the priest of his god. After a time the priest was seized by the convulsive movements which indicated his possession by the deity, and then informed the waiting assembly that the god had been away in a different part of the island at a single-stick match, but had now returned. He had been very angry with Boiboi because the latter used to make an insulting gesture with his eyes, but he was now reconciled to him, and the chief would recover. Boiboi honored the declaration by an immediate recovery, and rising from the stretcher he went off quite well.

MANA

GENERAL REMARKS

Another important conception, shared by the Tongans with their neighbors of the Pacific, is that of mana. Whilst tabu inculcates the duty of man towards the occult, mana indicates the mysterious forces in operation. The range covered by this idea is very wide, and there has sometimes been a tendency to dogmatize too positively on the inability of peoples at the Tongan level of culture to conceive abstractions. Mana is rendered in English as a wonder or miracle, and is employed in this sense in the vernacular version of the Bible. It is a common word for thunder. An adjective (*mana'ia*) containing this root is used of a man who is especially attractive to women. It

[443 cont.]

175 I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had
123 not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of
609 our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor
their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us.
175 Their women were, in general, [444] reserved, and turned with
609 disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of
832 them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our
people with lascivious gestures."

175 The next morning early the captain went on shore with us,
124 and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining
431 by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our
175 only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words,
124 which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the
197 idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the
[114] language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and
Mahine (or O-Hedeedee,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora
who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally
new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them
the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar
modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the
natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them.
175 They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived
433 it defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit,
[231] few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return,
[276] however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating
[609] pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is supporting that which is an evil'.[3]

Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the 1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either spouse.

The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy. Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people', wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII: 3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one spouse.

Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing was the fact that it was often performed in association with the old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for further offences.

The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan missionaries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise, leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

[3] Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society, Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and this was the work to which the clause referred.

/75 cont./

584 apparently occur more seldom today. Kinship marriages (cousins) are
582 very rare, since the brother-sister taboo extends to this degree of relationship and is still very much in effect. However, as in former times, people like to marry on the same island and in the same district--though avoiding all kinfolk.

832 The Tongan ideal of feminine beauty has changed. The obese type
177 with very fat legs is no longer favored, but rather the well-rounded, somewhat sturdy girl is preferred. This change of taste undoubtedly came about through acquaintance with the European ideal by way of films and photographs in magazines and newspapers. Yet the beautiful white girl type is still too thin for most Tongans.

581 A young man who likes a girl because of her beauty and/or her domestic efficiency and her character well enough to marry her may not at once become friends with her publicly. An unmarried Tongan man is
584 generally not permitted (217)
571

217. That is to say, on the small islands; in the seaports this custom is being relaxed.

to go for a walk with a girl in the village. The girl's reputation
(558) would be ruined if, for example, she were seen sitting alone with
[177] a young man on the beach by moonlight. Such "English customs"
are still disapproved by most Tongans. European manifestations
832 of tenderness--such as a kiss on the lips--have not found general
177 acceptance. (218)

218. The nose kiss (<u>'uma</u>) is, however, still very common; this touching of nose to nose (while holding one's breath) is done chiefly when relatives greet each other after a rather long separation.

594 The best opportunity to become acquainted with a girl, to be
584 together with her, is still the social event of a kava gathering.
276 (219)